

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 186874

EXDIS EYES ONLY FOR HORMATZ WITH YOUNG PARTY FROM LAKE-S/P

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SGEN,SHUM, UNGA

SUBJECT: DRAFT UNGA SPEECH

1. HERE IS THE PAPER WE DISCUSSED, TWO DRAFTS LATER.
PLEASE GIVE ME YOUR COMMENTS URGENTLY.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

I. CREATING A GLOBAL COMMUNITY

-- THE OPENING OF A NEW GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION OFFERS

A CHANCE FOR ALL OF US TO STEP BACK FROM THE CRISES OF

THE MOMENT AND SEE WHERE THE WORLD IS HEADING.
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-- PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS EVERYWHERE SHARE A FEELING

THAT THE PACE OF EVENTS IS QUICKENING; THAT THE ISSUES

WE FACE ARE GROWING MORE COMPLEX; THAT THE ABILITY OF ANY

INDIVIDUAL, OR INDIVIDUAL NATION, TO AFFECT THE COURSE

OF HISTORY IS BECOMING MORE CONSTRAINED.

-- WE ALL, THEREFORE, FACE A SINGLE AND TERRIBLY

IMPORTANT CHOICE: WILL WE LET EVENTS AND THEIR

COMPLEXITIES DOMINATE AND DIVIDE US? OR WILL WE SEEK

THE GLOBAL CONSENSUS THAT MUST PRECEDE THE CREATION OF

A GLOBAL COMMUNITY?

-- THIS SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CAN PLAY AN

IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE CREATION OF THIS CONSENSUS AND

START THE CONSTRUCTION OF THAT COMMUNITY: IN ITS PLANNING

FOR A THIRD DEVELOPMENT DECADE; IN ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF REGIONAL PEACE IN SUCH TROUBLED AREAS

AS SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST; IN ITS CONSIDER-

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ATION OF PROPOSALS TO STRENGTHEN THE EFFICIENCY OF THE

UN ITSELF AND OTHER FORUMS IN WHICH PROGRESS CAN BE MADE

ON THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES THAT

CONFRONT US.

-- THE FORGING OF THIS NEW CONSENSUS AND COMMUNITY HAS

BECOME THE CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY OF INTERNATIONAL POLI-

TICS. THE HISTORIC DIFFUSION OF GLOBAL POWER GREATLY

COMPLICATES OUR TASK.

-- UNLIKE PREVIOUS GENERATIONS' ATTEMPTS TO CODIFY A

WORLD ORDER, THE CHALLENGE FALLS NOT UPON A FEW LEADING

NATIONS ALONE.

- IN THE PERIOD AFTER WORLD WAR II, A FEW OF THE POWER-

FUL COULD CREATE INSTITUTIONS THAT ALL NATIONS COULD BE

EXPECTED TO ACCEPT.

- NOW, THE CREATION OF A STABLE AND EQUITABLE GLOBAL
COMMUNITY MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED BY, AS WELL AS FOR, EACH
NATION.

- RELATIONS BETWEEN ANY TWO NATIONS ARE NO LONGER A
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SUFFICIENT FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR ANY OF US. FOR
EXAMPLE, THE US AND USSR HOLD IN THEIR HANDS THE SURVIVAL
OF THE WORLD. WITHOUT DETENTE BETWEEN US, THE WORLD'S
FUTURE IS IN JEOPARDY. BUT EVEN THE SUPERPOWERS CANNOT
ALONE, THROUGH THE NATURE OF THEIR OWN RELATIONS,
ENSURE PEACE -- LET ALONE BUILD A GLOBAL STRUCTURE THAT
SERVES THE NEEDS OF MANKIND.

II. THE WORLD WE SEEK

-- GLOBAL CONSENSUS BEGINS WITH A DEFINITION OF GLOBAL
GOALS.

-- LET ME SHARE WITH YOU MY OWN VIEW OF THE KIND OF
WORLD I WOULD LIKE TO SEE MY CHILDREN LIVE IN.

-- IT IS A WORLD, ABOVE ALL, IN WHICH INDIVIDUAL HUMAN
DIGNITY IS PROMOTED AND PROTECTED, WHERE EACH PERSON,
FEELS SECURE AND HOLDS THE HOPE OF PROGRESS.

-- WE THEREFORE SEEK A WORLD:

- WHERE ALL GOVERNMENTS PAY RESPECT TO INDIVIDUAL
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RIGHTS MORE THAN TO NATIONAL GRANDEUR.

- WHERE PEOPLES AND NATIONS HAVE GROWN ACCUSTOMED TO
RESOLVING THEIR INEVITABLE DISPUTES, NOT THROUGH COMBAT

BUT THROUGH CONCILIATION IN THIS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS. THE UNITED STATES, LIKE OTHER NATIONS, WILL MAINTAIN ITS DEFENSES IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE BALANCE ON WHICH PEACE DEPENDS. BUT WE RECONGIZE THAT OUR SECURITY WILL ULTIMATELY BE ENHANCED BEST THROUGH RECIPROCAL ARMS CONTROL MEASURES AND SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL DISPUTES.

- WHERE THE ONE BILLION PEOPLE LIVING TODAY IN ABSOLUTE POVERTY ARE WELL ON THE WAY TO THEIR OWN ENRICHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

- WHERE THE EARTH'S STOCKPILES OF FOOD ARE GROWING, AND OUR STOCKPILES OF ARMAMENTS ARE SHRINKING.

- WHERE PEOPLE, GOODS, SERVICES AND CAPITAL FLOW MORE FREELY AMONG NATIONS, UNDER ACCEPTED STANDARDS THAT ENCOURAGE EACH SOCIETY TO DIRECT ITS EFFORTS WHERE THEY CONFIDENTIAL

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CAN BE MOST USEFUL TO ITS PEOPLE AND THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE.

- WHERE THE MOTIVATION AND ABILITY TO ACQUIRE DEADLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE WITHERED, LEAVING RESOURCES AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY FREE TO BE DIVERTED TO MORE CONSTRUCTIVE USES.

- THESE GOALS REQUIRE POSITIVE ACTIONS, NOW, IF WE ARE EVER TO ACHIEVE THEM. AND WE MUST MOVE FORWARD ON ALL FRONTS AT ONCE. A FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON ANY OF THEM CAN PREVENT PROGRESS ON ALL OF THEM. A WORLD IN

WHICH NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE PROLIFERATED CANNOT BE SAFE
FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS. A WORLD DIVIDED BETWEEN RICH AND
POOR CANNOT FIND PEACE. IN NEITHER WORLD COULD THE
INDIVIDUAL FIND SECURITY AND HOPE.

III. THE STRUCTURE OF A GLOBAL COMMUNITY

-- TO SERVE THESE GOALS, WE MUST CREATE A GLOBAL

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STRUCTURE THAT INCLUDES:

- COOPERATIVE MECHANISMS AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL

DEMOCRACIES, TO SERVE BOTH THEIR OWN PEOPLES AND THE

GLOBAL COMMUNITY;

- RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIAL AND DEVELOPING

NATIONS THAT EMPHASIZE COMMON PROGRESS RATHER THAN

COMPETITIVE BARGAINING.

- CONSTRUCTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF THE STATE-TRADING NATIONS;

- STRENGTHENING OF REGIONAL AND GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS

THROUGH WHICH REGIONAL PEACE, ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND ARMS

CONTROL MEASURES CAN BE ACHIEVED; AND

- THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALL STATES OF THEIR INDIVIDUAL

OBLIGATIONS TO A GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

-- I BELIEVE WE ARE ALREADY MAKING PROGRESS IN

CREATING THIS STRUCTURE. WE CAN, AND MUST, DO MORE.

A. FIRST, COOPERATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES:

-- INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES CAN BE PROUD OF THEIR

ACHIEVEMENTS IN RECENT YEARS.

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- ENGINES OF GLOBAL GROWTH.

- SOURCES OF TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION.

- EFFORTS TO PRESERVE PEACE.

- HAVE GENERALLY BEEN A CREATIVE GLOBAL FORCE.

-- IN MANY INSTANCES THEY HAVE BEEN THE INITIATORS

OF GLOBAL PROGRESS. BUT THEIR ACTIONS HAVE ALSO LED TO

GLOBAL PROBLEMS. AND THEY HAVE NOT ESCAPED THE CONSE-

QUENCES.

-- TODAY THE ADVANCED ECONOMIES SHARE IN THE DESIRE

FOR A BETTER FUTURE.

- ALL OUR SYSTEMS CURRENTLY UNDER STRESS. ECONOMIC

DISLOCATIONS FROM FOOD SHORTAGES, ENERGY, INFLATION,

ETC.

- CONCERN WITH SECURITY ISSUES THAT TECHNOLOGY HAS

WROUGHT -- NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, ETC. CONSCIOUS THAT

MILITARY CONFLICT WOULD HAVE PERILOUS NEW DIMENSION.

-- TODAY INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES FACING GREATEST

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CHALLENGE SINCE WORLD WAR II.

- ECONOMIC (DESCRIBE CONDITIONS).

- POLITICAL (DESCRIBE SHAKEN CONFIDENCE OF CITIZENS

AND GOVERNMENTS).

- GENERALLY, THE INSTITUTIONS OF THESE COUNTRIES

ARE STRUGGLING TO RESPOND TO THE NEW ISSUES OF OUR ERA.

-- HOWEVER THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES ARE DETERMINED

TO SURMOUNT THEIR DIFFICULTIES. THEY HAVE RECOGNIZED

THE TWO MAJOR CHALLENGES AHEAD:

- NOT TO SLIDE BACK INTO DESTRUCTIVE COMPETITION.

- THE NECESSITY OF COOPERATING TO SURMOUNT THE

PROBLEMS THEY AND THE WORLD FACE.

-- PROGRESS IN THIS COOPERATION HAS BEEN MADE.

- SUMMIT

- DISCUSS MAJOR ITEMS

- OECD MINISTERIAL

- REINFORCED AND BROADENED SUMMIT CONSENSUS

-- BUT MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE:

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- ON NUCLEAR ISSUES

- ON ECONOMIC ISSUES

- PARTICULARLY TRADE

- ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS

- YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

- URBAN PROBLEMS

-- THESE EFFORTS WILL BE CRITICAL TO THE WELFARE OF

NOT JUST THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES BUT THE WIDER INTER-

NATIONAL COMMUNITY AS WELL. OECD INACTION WILL STIFLE

PROGRESS ELSEWHERE. OECD PROGRESS WILL ACCELERATE

GLOBAL ADVANCE.

-- ALSO, DCS RECOGNIZE THAT ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL

SECURITY AND ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES INCREASINGLY RESTS ON

SUCCESS OF WIDER GLOBAL COOPERATION.

-- FOR THIS REASON IT IS NOT SATISFACTORY FOR

COOPERATION ON ISSUES WHICH SO CLEARLY AFFECT OTHERS

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TO BE LIMITED TO THESE FEW NATIONS, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT

SOMETIMES BEGIN AMONG THEM.

-- FOR ITS PART, THE US BELIEVES THAT DEVELOPING

NATIONS SHOULD INCREASINGLY BE INCLUDED AS THE INDUSTRIAL

NATIONS ADDRESS KEY CHALLENGES.

-- THERE ARE AT LEAST FOUR AREAS WHERE THIS WIDER

CONSULTATIVE PROCESS COULD BEGIN.

- COOPERATION ON CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR ENERGY.

- COOPERATION ON TRADE.

- COOPERATION ON INVESTMENT.

- COLLABORATION ON DEVELOPMENT PLANNING.

-- (BROADEN SOME FUTURE SUMMITS TO INCLUDE SESSIONS

WITH LEADERS FROM DEVELOPING NATIONS TO DISCUSS SUCH

ISSUES?)

-- (STRENGTHEN AND BROADEN OECD?) (UN SPEECH MAY NOT

BE THE PLACE TO PROMOTE THIS.)

B. BROADER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

-- IN NO OTHER AREA ARE OUR OPPORTUNITIES TO DEVELOP GLOBAL

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CONSENSUS ON NEW DIRECTIONS MORE CHALLENGING THAN IN

RELATIONS BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THERE

HAS BEEN REAL PROGRESS IN THE LAST FEW YEARS. BUT WE MUST

RECOGNIZE FOUR PROBLEMS THAT HAVE INHIBITED THE CONSENSUS

WE NEED.

- FIRST, MANY OF US IN THE SO-CALLED NORTHERN COUNTRIES
HAVE FAILED TO APPRECIATE HOW DEEPLY OUR OWN INTERESTS ARE
SERVED BY THE GROWTH AND WELL-BEING OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY,
AND HOW VITAL THE DEVELOPING WORLD IS TO THE ATTAINMENT
OF SUCH OBJECTIVES AS NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION AND
ADEQUATE FOOD PRODUCTION. AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED,
FULLY ONE-QUARTER OF OUR EXPORTS NOW GO TO NON-OPEC
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AS MUCH AS TO ALL OF EUROPE, INCLUDING
USSR. OF OUR TWENTY MOST IMPORTANT TRADING PARTNERS,
TEN ARE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

- SECOND, WE OF THE NORTH HAVE OFTEN BEEN SLOW TO
RECOGNIZE POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE
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DIFFUSION OF POWER, AND THE ENHANCED CAPACITY AND DESIRE FOR
PARTICIPATION BY MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE
DECISIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF REGIONAL AND GLOBAL
MECHANISMS.

- THIRD, MANY GOVERNMENTS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE
TENDED TO DWELL ON THE NEED FOR CERTAIN REFORMS, WHICH
INHIBITED EVOLUTION OF A GLOBAL CONSENSUS. THEY WERE
CONCERNED EXCLUSIVELY WITH PROBLEMS OF THE LDCS, RATHER
THAN WITH THE BROADER AND CONCRETE GLOBAL SOLUTIONS WHICH
WOULD BENEFIT ALL NATIONS.

- FOURTH, NEITHER THE LEADERS OF THE NORTH NOR OF THE
SOUTH FOCUSED SUFFICIENTLY ON THE PROPER END GOAL OF ALL
OUR EFFORTS TOWARD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE HUMAN

DIMENSION, THE WORTH AND THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

CITIZEN IN ALL OUR COUNTRIES.

-- NOW OUR COOPERATIVE EXAMINATION OF THESE PROBLEMS

IS AT A CRUCIAL TURNING POINT.

-- DCS MUST HONOR PAST COMMITMENT TO ASSIST LDCS IN
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COMING FEW DIFFICULT YEARS OF DISLOCATION AND RECOVERY. WE

RECOGNIZE THAT LDC NEEDS DIFFER FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY,

THAT NO ONE POLICY OR SOLUTION CAN RESPOND TO ALL THE

DIVERSITY OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

-- LIKEWISE, LDCS MUST SHOW AN AWARENESS OF OUR INTEREST

IN SUCH ISSUES AS:

- FAIR CODES FOR INVESTMENT.

- NON-PROLIFERATION.

-- MANY ISSUES RAISED AT THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH SPECIAL

SESSIONS AND CIEC REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED WITH MUTUAL

ACCOMMODATION:

- COMMON FUND NEGOTIATIONS;

- TRADE LIBERALIZATION;

- STRENGTHENING OF IFI'S;

- TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER;

- ENERGY PROBLEMS IN LDCS;

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- FOOD PRODUCTION AND GLOBAL RESERVE SYSTEM.

-- ANOTHER MAJOR CHALLENGE LIES IN THE OPPORTUNITY

WE FACE AT THIS GA TO MOVE BEYOND THE OLD DIALOGUE INTO
NEW CONCENTRATION ON BUILDING A WORLD OF FREEDOM, DIGNITY
AND BASIC AMENITIES OF LIFE FOR ALL THE WORLD'S PEOPLE.

-- PROCESS WE ARE ABOUT TO BEGIN, DESIGNING THIRD
DEVELOPMENT DECADE FOR 1980S AND BEYOND, CAN CODIFY THE
CONSENSUS INTO A GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

-- CORE OF DDIII ALREADY IDENTIFIED AT WORLD EMPLOYMENT
CONFERENCE OF 1976, WHERE ECONOMISTS OF NORTH AND SOUTH
JOINED TO DEFINE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY OF MEETING BASIC
HUMAN NEEDS.

-- US HAS TAKEN RECOMMENDATIONS OF THAT CONFERENCE
SERIOUSLY, AND COMMENDS WORK OF LEADING THIRD WORLD
ECONOMISTS IN DEVISING BASIC HUMAN NEEDS STRATEGY. WE
REGARD THE MEETING OF BASIC HUMAN NEEDS AS AN INTEGRAL PART
OF OUR POLICY TO PROMOTE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- WORKING WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UN, THE US INTENDS
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TO TAKE SERIES OF STEPS TO PROMOTE A BASIC HUMAN NEEDS
APPROACH DURING PREPARATORY PERIOD FOR DDIII.

FIRST, VANCE PROPOSAL TO OECD; CURRENT DAC/OECD
STUDY.

- SECOND, WIDE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN OECD AND LDC
NATIONS.

- (THIRD, APPOINTMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION OF
LEADING AMERICANS, FROM GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR,
TO HELP BUILD AMERICAN CONSENSUS. CHAIRMAN TO BE

MONDALE? HUMPHREY?)

- ENDORSE BRANDT COMMISSION?

- INCREASED ASSISTANCE TO LDC'S PROJECTS WHICH ARE

TARGETTED ON MEETING BASIC HUMAN NEEDS. (PROPOSAL FOR

MAJOR GLOBAL PROGRAM TO DEVELOP POTABLE WATER?)

-- WITH THIS AS CORE OF THIRD DEVELOPMENT DECADE, OUR

NATIONS WORKING TOGETHER CAN MAKE MATERIAL INROADS INTO

HUMAN PROBLEMS WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD CONFRONT OUR
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CHILDREN WITH INTOLERABLE BURDENS.

C. INVOLVING COMMUNIST NATIONS

-- CONSTRUCTION OF THE EMERGING GLOBAL COMMUNITY SHOULD

INCLUDE THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RESOURCES OF THE

STATE-TRADING NATIONS, EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY

CHOSEN NOT TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH THE INTERNATIONAL

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND MANY OF THE FUNCTIONAL

INSTITUTIONS ON WHICH GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROGRESS RELY.

-- THEIR PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES INCREASINGLY

SIMILAR TO OURS (ENERGY, INFLATION, ETC.). INCREASINGLY

THESE CAN BE HANDLED ONLY IN MULTILATERAL STRUCTURES.

IT IS UP TO THE CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMIES WHETHER THEY

WANT TO PARTICIPATE OR NOT. WE HOPE THAT THE SOVIET

UNION AND NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE WILL DECIDE TO BECOME

MORE ACTIVELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY ENGAGED.

IF THEIR ADHERENCE TO SOME INTERNATIONAL MECHANISMS MIGHT

STILL BE INAPPROPRIATE, IN OTHERS THE STATE-TRADING NATIONS

COULD PLAY AN INTEGRAL AND HIGHLY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, FOR

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MUTUAL BENEFIT.

- INTERNATIONAL GRAIN AGREEMENT, FOOD AID CONVENTION.

- JOINT VENTURES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT, WATER SUPPLIES,

PUBLIC HEALTH IN LDCS.

- GLOBAL ENERGY DIALOGUE.

-- US CERTAINLY NOT INTERESTED IN LETTING OLD

DIFFERENCES OR DISPUTES ON THE CONTINUING COMPETITIVE

ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS STAND IN WAY OF INCREASED

FUNCTIONAL COOPERATION IN A GLOBAL COMMUNITY WHICH MAKES

FULL PROVISION OF DIVERSITY.

-- MULTILATERAL COOPERATION SHOULD PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT

OF GROWING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

ABOUT ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN THIRD AREAS AND A

COMMITMENT ON BOTH SIDES TO THE NEGOTIATED REDUCTION OF OUR

NUCLEAR ARSENALS. THIS KIND OF RECIPROCAL AND DEEPENING

DETENTE SERVES BOTH OUR OWN INTERESTS AND THAT OF THE

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GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

-- APPLIES BOTH TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONS OF

EASTERN EUROPE. (CROWN OF ST. STEPHEN?).

D. STRENGTHENING INSTITUTIONS

-- POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION MUST INCREASINGLY

FIND EXPRESSION THROUGH STRENGTHENED MULTILATERAL INSTITU-

TIONS.

1. UNITED NATIONS

-- IT IS A SIGN OF THE IMPORTANCE WE PLACE ON THE

UNITED NATIONS (AS SHOWN IN ANDY YOUNG'S APPOINTMENT)

THAT WE INTEND TO EMPHASIZE, IN OUR OWN PARTICIPATION, ITS

INCREASED EFFICIENCY. WE WILL SUPPORT MOST FULLY THOSE

AGENCIES OF THE UN WHICH ARE THE MOST EFFECTIVE IN SERVING

PEOPLE IN NEED.

-- BELIEVE UN CAN PLAY A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MATTERS:

- SUPPORT FOR CONCEPT OF DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL

TO COORDINATE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS?

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-- SUPPORT FOR VENEZUELAN CONCEPT OF SPECIAL

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE?

- OTHER RESTRUCTURING IDEAS? WHAT FUTURE FOR ECOSOC?

-- WE EXPECT THAT THE UN WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN

IMPORTANT PEACEKEEPING ROLE.

- SOUTHERN AFRICA: KEY ROLE IN PEACEFUL AND RAPID

ADVANCEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

- ROLE IN MIDDLE EAST: (LEBANON PEACEKEEPING? UN

ROLE AT A GENEVA CONFERENCE?)

2. REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

-- WE BELIEVE THAT REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE

WILLING TO ACT FORCEFULLY IN RESOLVING THE POLITICAL AND

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THEIR AREAS.

-- POTENTIAL ROLE IN:

- RESOLVING REGIONAL DISPUTES (MENTION OAS, OAU);

- REACHING AGREEMENTS LIMITING THE FLOW OF CONVENTION-

AL ARMS TO THEIR REGIONS AS WE PURSUE OUR GOAL OF
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RESTRAINT AMONG SUPPLIERS;

- ACHIEVING REGIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS THAT PROHIBIT

THE SPREAD THERE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONRY;

-- ENHANCING THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (MEN-

TION IAHRG); AND

- COORDINATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS (MENTION

THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND, CLUB DU SAHEL, ASEAN,

THE ADB AND THE IDB). ANNOUNCE US SUPPORT FOR

IDEA OF A COMPREHENSIVE TECHNICAL STUDY OF THE UNDP

AND WORLD BANK OF EASTERN WATERS PROJECT? SUGGEST

A MIDDLE EASTERN DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR AFTER A

SETTLEMENT?

3. FUNCTIONAL BODIES

-- A GLOBAL COMMUNITY THAT SEEKS TO RESOLVE GLOBAL

PROBLEMS MUST FORM COALITIONS OF INTERESTED NATIONS TO

SOLVE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS; THESE COALITIONS WILL SHIFT

FROM ONE ISSUE TO THE NEXT. NO TWO COUNTRIES' INTERESTS

COINCIDE ON EVERY ISSUE; NO HOSTILITY IS SO TOTAL THAT
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COMMON GROUND CAN NEVER BE FOUND.

-- THE NEW FUNCTIONAL INSTITUTIONS THAT ARE BEING

CREATED -- IFAD, UN ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAM COORDINATE

THE WORK OF THESE ACTION COALITIONS.

-- SOME COALITIONS SHOULD BE NEARLY UNIVERSAL IN
MEMBERSHIP. (IMPORTANCE OF REACHING AN LOS TREATY AND
INSTITUTIONS).

-- OTHERS CAN BE MORE LIMITED IN SIZE (E.G., COMMODITY
AGREEMENTS).

-- ALL MUST SUCCEED, FOR NO NATION, ACTING ALONE, CAN
PRESERVE THE HEALTH OF ITS ECONOMY OR THE PURITY OF ITS
AIR AND WATER.

E. OBLIGATIONS OF EACH NATION

-- THIS VISION OF A GLOBAL COMMUNITY WORKING TOGETHER --
THE WORLD IN WHICH I WANT MY CHILDREN TO LIVE -- DEPENDS
ON THE DEDICATION TO ITS CREATION OF EACH GOVERNMENT REP-
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RESENTED IN THIS HALL.

- NONE OF OUR COUNTRIES CAN RIGHTLY MAKE DOMESTIC
DECISIONS WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE CONTEXT OF THEIR
GLOBAL IMPACT. TRADE, DECISION TO BUILD NUCLEAR
WEAPONS, ENVIRONMENT.

- WE MUST EACH TAKE THE LONG VIEW IN DEVISING SOLU-
TIONS TO OUR NATIONAL PROBLEMS; EFFECTS OF DECISIONS
NOW MAY NOT BE FELT FOR YEARS TO COME. (POPULATION
AND LITERACY PROGRAMS, ENERGY.)

- WE CANNOT BE SO PREOCCUPIED WITH GETTING AS MUCH OF
THE WORLD'S WEALTH AS POSSIBLE FOR OUR OWN PEOPLE
THAT WE IGNORE THE NEED TO ENLARGE THE POOL OF RE-

SOURCES AVAILABLE FOR ALL.

- WE CANNOT ATTEMPT TO APPLY STANDARDS TO OTHERS THAT

WE ARE NOT WILLING TO APPLY TO OURSELVES.(HUMAN RIGHTS

NUCLEAR RESTRAINT.)

- MOST IMPORTANT, A GLOBAL COMMUNITY DESIGNED TO PRO-

MOTE INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY MUST BE BASED ON HUMANE

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NATIONAL POLICIES. POLITICAL HUMAN RIGHTS ARE AN

INTERNATIONAL CONCERN. BASIC ECONOMIC HUMAN NEEDS

CAN BE MET ONLY IF THERE ARE BOTH INTERNATIONAL

COOPERATION AND DOMESTIC POLICIES THAT PROMOTE

ECONOMIC EQUITY.

IV.CONCLUSION

-- THE US IS A STRONG NATION. WE WILL REMAIN STRONG,

SO THAT OUR CITIZENS REMAIN SECURE.

-- BUT WE KNOW THAT OUR TRUE SECURITY CAN BEST BE FOUND

IN THE KIND OF WORLD COMMUNITY I HAVE DESCRIBED.

-- WE WILL DO OUR PART TOWARDS ITS CREATION:

- IN OUR WORK TO HELP FIND PEACE IN TROUBLED AREAS

SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA;

- IN OUR RECOGNITION THAT WE CANNOT HELP STOP

THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IF WE DO NOT SEEK TO

LIMIT AND REDUCE EXISTING NUCLEAR ARSENALS AND PRO-

MOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR ENERGY ONLY IN WAYS

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THAT ARE NOT DANGEROUS TO THE FUTURE OF MANKIND;

- IN OUR SEEKING BETTER RELATIONS WITH TRADITIONAL

ADVERSARIES;

- IN OUR EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE WASTEFUL FLOWS OF CON-

VENTIONAL ARMS, WHILE REDUCING OUR OWN SALES OF WEA-

PONS OF WAR;

- IN OUR EFFORTS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE EVOLUTION OF A

PROSPEROUS WORLD ECONOMY;

- IN OUR PROMOTION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS -- ECONOMIC

AS WELL AS POLITICAL; AND

- IN THE CHARACTER OF OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE ACT-

ION COALITIONS THAT SEEK TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF

HUMAN LIFE EVERYWHERE.

-- ACTIONS ON SO BROAD A FRONT ARE INEVITABLY UNSETTLING

BOTH INTERNATIONALLY AND WITHIN OUR DOMESTIC POLITICAL

SYSTEMS.

-- NO ONE SIMPLE STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATION-

SHIPS WILL SUFFICE. NO SIMPLE SLOGAN WILL BE ABLE TO
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DESCRIBE THE STRUCTURE WE SEEK. NATIONS WILL HAVE TO WORK

CLOSELY TOGETHER IN A VARIETY OF WAYS -- AND EACH WILL

HAVE TO MAKE ITS APPROPRIATE CONTRIBUTION.

-- YEARS MAY PASS BEFORE THE FULL EFFECTS OF TODAY'S

DECISIONS BECOME APPARENT.

-- BUT IF WE FAIL TO TAKE THE BEGINNING STEPS TODAY,

THOSE EFFECTS WILL NEVER BE FELT. THE CONSEQUENCES FOR

OUR CHILDREN, AND THEIRS, WOULD BE TRAGIC.

-- IT IS OUR OPPORTUNITY -- AND DUTY -- TO ACT FOR THEM,

NOW. CHRISTOPHER

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